

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BRASIL 01172 01 OF 02 101527Z

53

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ARAE-00 AGR-05 FEAE-00 ERDA-05 NRC-05

ACDA-05 SP-02 AID-05 EB-07 NSC-05 CIEP-01 TRSE-00

SS-15 STR-04 OMB-01 CEA-01 CIAE-00 COME-00 FRB-03

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DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 L-03 PA-01 PRS-01 PC-01 /110 W

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P 101310Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3824

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 BRASILIA 1172

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS FROM AMBASSADOR

E. O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, BR, US

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S SPEECH ON U.S. BRAZILIAN COOPERATION

1. ON JANUARY 27, IN FULFILLMENT OF A LONG-STANDING ENGAGEMENT, I SPOKE TO THE AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF RIO DE JANEIRO ON THE GENERAL THEME OF THE EFFECT OF THE FAR-REACHING CHANGES IN THE WORLD ECONOMIC SYSTEM ON THE EVOLVING U.S.-BRAZILIAN RELATIONSHIP. ONE OF THE AIMS OF THE SPEECH--COPIES OF WNGD ARE IN ARA/BR--WAS TO BRING INTO SHARPER FOCUS SOME OF THE BASIC CHOICES OPENING TO BRAZIL IN ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH US AND WITH THE WORLD AS IT MOVES TOWARD FULL DEVELOPMENT AND ULTIMATELY TO GREAT POWER STATUS. I ALSO STRESSED THAT THE U.S. ACCEPTS AND SYMPATHIZES WITH BRAZIL'S ASPIRATIONS FOR A GREATER WORLD ROLE, AND I OUTLINED SPECIFIC AREAS VITAL TO BRAZIL'S DEVELOPMENT IN WHICH U.S. AND BRAZIL HAVE SIGNIFICANT OPPORTUNITIES FOR GREATER COOPERATION GROWING OUT OF A FUNDAMENTAL CONGRUENCE OF THEIR INTERESTS. SPEECH HAS STITSLATED CONSIDERABLE INTEREST AND COMMENT, MAJORITY OF IT VERY FAVORABLE AND ALMOST

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PAGE 02 BRASIL 01172 01 OF 02 101527Z

ALL OF IT THOUGHTFUL. THE WEIGHT

OF THE LESS POSITIVE COMMENT HAS BEEN CENTERED ON DOUBTS ABOUT THE U.S.-BRAZILIAN ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP IN THE LIGHT OF U.S. PROTECTIONISM. SINCE SOME OF ITS THEMES HAVE FIGURED IN CURRENT PUBLIC DEBATE HERE OVER THE DIRECTION OF BRAZIL'S FOREIGN POLICY, SECRETARY SHOULD BE AWARE OF AT LEAST SPEECH'S MAIN POINTS BY THE TIME HE VISITS HERE.

2. AT OUTSET I HIGHLIGHTED SOME OF FAR-REACHING CHANGES IN WORLD'S ECONOMIC SYSTEM, WHICH SHAPE ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH OUR BILATERAL COOPERATION IS CONDUCTED. I TOOK SPECIAL NOTE OF INITIATIVES OF RECENT MONTHS ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SCENE, CITING 7TH SPECIAL SESSION, MTN, GSP, RAMBOUILLET, AND CIEC.

3. WITH CHANGING WORLD ECONOMIC SCENE AS SETTING, I DETAILED AREAS IN WHICH THERE ARE NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR U.S.-BRAZILIAN COOPERATION, BOTH BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL: TRADE, AGRICULTURE, MINERALS, ENERGY, AND NUCLEAR MATTERS. I SOUGHT TO UNDERSCORE THE PARALLELS OF U.S. AND BRAZILIAN INTERESTS IN A NUMBER OF THESE AREAS AND THE FUNDAMENTAL SYMPATHY OF U.S. TO BRAZILIAN CONCERNS OVER PARTICULAR PROBLEMS, SUCH AS THE BILATERAL TRADE DEFICIT WITH U.S., THE HEAVY BURDEN OF OIL IMPORTS, AND BRAZIL'S DESIRE TO USE NUCLEAR ENERGY IN ITS DEVELOPMENT--A DESIRE, I NOTED, THE U.S. RECOGNIZES, UNDERSTANDS, AND SUPPORTS.

4. IN THE FINAL QUARTER OF THE SPEECH, I SOUGHT TO RELATE THESE NEW OPPORTUNITIES AND FIELDS FOR COOPERATION TO THE MORE BASIC CONCEPTS THAT GUIDE U.S. POLICY TOWARD BRAZIL AND TO SKETCH WHAT I SEE AS THREE DIFFERING VIEWPOINTS HELD BY INFORMED BRAZILIANS AS TO BRAZIL'S APPROPRIATE PLACE IN THE WORLD AT THIS STAGE OF ITS DEVELOPMENT. I WAS CAREFUL, OF COURSE, NOT TO INDICATE A CHOICE AMONG THE BRAZILIAN VIEWPOINTS. THE COMPLETE TEXT OF THAT PORTION OF MY SPEECH IS AS FOLLOWS:

"I HAVE TRIED TO REVIEW BRIEFLY SOME OF THE IMPORTANT NEW OPPORTUNITIES AND AREAS OF COOPERATION WHICH HAVE BEEN PRODUCED BY THE FAR-REACHING CHANGES TAKING PLACE IN THE WORLD ECONOMY AND WHICH ACTUALLY AND POTENTIALLY REPRESENT NEW DIMENSIONS IN THE ALWAYS-EVOLVING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND BRAZIL.

"LET ME NOW CONCLUDE BY PUTTING THESE NEW DIMENSIONS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF SOME BASIS CONCEPTS THAT GUIDE U.S. POLICY TOWARD LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 BRASIL 01172 01 OF 02 101527Z

BRAZIL. IN THE FIRST PLACE, THE UNITED STATES LOOKS WITH UNDERSTANDING AND SYMPATHY UPON BRAZIL'S DRIVE TO REALIZE ITS NATIONAL GOAL OF GRANDEZA, WHICH I INTERPRET TO MEAN THE ASSUMPTION OF BRAZIL'S RIGHTFUL PLACE IN THE WORLD CONCERT OF NATIONS. ACCORDING TO THE LITERATURE, THIS NATIONAL GOAL IS OFTEN TRANSLATED INTO THE OBJECTIVE OF THE ACHIEVEMENT OF GREAT-POWER STATUS BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY, WITH THE BENCHMARK OF FULL INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT--WITH ITS CONNOTATION OF MIDDLE-POWER STATUS--TO BE

PASSED BY THE MID 1980'S. NOW FOR US THESE ASPIRATIONS, WHICH ARE OF LONG STANDING BUT WHICH HAVE BEEN GIVEN SUBSTANCE ESPECIALLY IN THE LAST TEN YEARS OR SO AS A RESULT OF RAPID ECONOMIC GROWTH, ARE NATURAL, LEGITIMATE AND CONSONANT WITH OUR OWN INTERESTS AND WITH OUR APPRECIATION OF THE EVOLVING ROLE OF THAT IMPORTANT GROUP OF "INTERMEDIATE" COUNTRIES OF WHICH BRAZIL IS A PRIME EXAMPLE. IN OUR OWN FORWARD THINKING, WE PROCEED ON THE BASIS OF A GENERAL PRESUMPTION THAT BRAZIL WILL MEET ITS OBJECTIVES AND FULFILL ITS NATIONAL GOAL. WE OPERATE ON THE ADDITIONAL PRESUMPTIONS THAT BRAZIL, AS IT MOVES FORWARD IN FULL INDEPENDENCE, WILL CONTINUE TO BE A NATION OF THE WEST AND THAT, IN KEEPING WITH ITS INCREASING AUTHORITY, WILL BE PREPARED AND WILLING TO ASSUME COMCOMITANT RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE WORLD ORDER.

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PAGE 01 BRASIL 01172 02 OF 02 101423Z

53

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ARAE-00 AGR-05 FEAE-00 ERDA-05 NRC-05

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P 101310Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3825

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 BRASILIA 1172

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS FROM AMBASSADOR

"MEANWHILE, MANY BRAZILIANS, BELIEVING THAT THEIR COUNTRY SHARES CERTAIN HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES WITH THE NATIONS OF THE THIRD WORLD, ARE CONVINCED THAT, AT LEAST UNTIL FULL DEVELOPMENT IS ACHIEVED, BRAZIL SHOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE LEVERAGE REPRESENTED BY SOLIDARITY WITH THE LESS DEVELOPED STATES TO PRESS THE INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES FOR ECONOMIC BENEFITS AND TO

ASSURE MAXIMUM FREEDOM OF MANEUVER IN RELATION TO THE DEVELOPED WORLD. SOMETIMES ONE READS AND HEARS ANOTHER VERSION OF THIS POSTURE, THAT IS, THAT BRAZIL'S ROLE IS REALLY THAT OF A BRIDGE OR INTERPRETER BETWEEN THE FIRST WORLD, WHICH IT EXPECTS TO ENTER, AND THE THIRD WORLD, IN WHICH IT NOW RESIDES. THOSE WHO EXPOUND THIS VERSION ARGUE THAT IT ENABLES BRAZIL, IF IT CHOOSES, TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE EASING OF FRICTIONS AND TENSIONS BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME REAPING THE BENEFITS OF ASSOCIATION WITH BOTH WORLDS.

"THERE IS, OF COURSE, WTILL ANOTHER SCHOOL OF THOUGHT AMONG BRAZILIANS THAT THAT MAINTAINS THAT BRAZIL SHOULD OPT NOW FOR ASSOCIA

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TION WITH THE FIRST WORLD AND ITS INSTRUMENTALITIES. THIS
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PAGE 02 BRASIL 01172 02 OF 02 101423Z

SCHOOL WOULD MAINTIAN THAT, ON PRAGMATIC GROUNDS, BRAZIL'S CURRENT AND FUTURE INTERESTS CLEARLY LIE WITH THE COMMUNITY OF INDUSTRIALNATIONS AND THAT THOSE INTERESTS ARE PREJUDICED BY TEMPORIZING. IN SUPPORT, THIS SCHOOL WOULD POINT TO THE STAGE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BRAZIL HAS REACHED, THE SCOPE AND DIVERSITY OF ITS RELATIONS WITH INDUSTRIALLY ADVANCED SOCIETIES, AND ITS INCREASING WEIGHT IN WORLD AFFAIRS.

"ALTHOUGH IT IS SURELY NOT FOR ME TO COMMENT HERE ON THESE VARIOUS OPINIONS, I BELIEVE THAT THE NUMBER, NATURE AND PACE OF THE CHANGES THAT ARE OCCURRING ON THE WORLD SCENE WILL PROVIDE INCREASING OCCASIONS FOR DEFINITION OF THE BRAZILIAN ROLE IN THE GLOBAL EFFORT TO ACHIEVE AN EQUITABLE, RELATIONSHIP, WHICH OBVIOUSLY GOES BEYOND

PURELY ECONOMIC ARRANGEMENTS, IS MADE NECESSARY BY THE INELUCTABLE FACT OF INTERDEPENDENCE, INTERDEPENDENCE PROPERLY UNDERSTOOD AS NEITHER A COVER FOR THE RIGID MAINTENANCE OF THE STATUS QUO NOR A LICENSE TO DESTROY ALL EXISTING ECONOMIC STRUCTURES BUT RATHER AS AN IMPERATIVE SUMMONING OF ALL TO ACCOMMODATION, COMPROMISE AND AN END TO THE SEEKING OF UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE, WHETHER IT BE OF BLOCS OR OF INDIVIDUAL NATIONS, DEVELOPED, DEVELOPING OR INTERMEDIATE.

"IT WAS IN THAT SPIRIT THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER, IN HIS SEMINAL ADDRESS OF SEPTEMBER 1 TO THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, PRESENTED HIS FAR-REACHING PROPOSALFOR THE REFORM OF THE WORLD'S ECONOMIC STRUCTURES.

"IT IS IN THAT SPIRIT THA THE UNITED STATES INTENDS TO COOPERATE POSITIVELY, AS IT CAN AND AS IT IS INVITED TO DO, IN BRAZIL'S QUEST FOR ITS GREATNESS."

END TEXT OF SPEECH EXCERPT.

5. WHILE WE HAVE RECEIVED LITTLE REACTION FROM FOREIGN MINISTRY (THAT WHICH WE HAVE RECEIVED HAS BEEN POSITIVE), COMMENTS FROM ELSEWHERE IN GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING VICE PRESIDENT AND SOME VERY SENIOR MILITARY OSSIE

S, CONGRESS, AND I

PMQESS CIRCLES

HAVE BEEN FAVORABLE AND SOME OF THEM VERY WARM. BASICALLY, I
INTERPRET THIS POSITIVE REACTION AS REFLECTING FIRST, SATISFACT-
ION AT U.S. SYMPATHY AND UNDERSTANDING FOR BRAZILIAN ASPIRATIONS
AND AT OUR PRESUMPTION THAT THEY ARE REALIZABLE: SECOND,
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PAGE 03 BRASIL 01172 02 OF 02 101423Z

RISING PERPLEXITY AMONG MANY BRAZILIANS OVER INCREASING THIRD
WORLD BENT OF FOREIGN POLICY: AND THIRD, PERSISTENCE OF
STRONG RESIDUE OF SENTIMENT IN FAVOR OF CLOSE IDENTIFICATION
WITH U.S. AND WEST.
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